

*Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex*

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to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic state-<sup>584</sup>  
ment on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture<sup>581</sup> ●  
of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game,  
and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this  
brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and  
marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelang-  
langers.

## ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the fore-  
going. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which  
the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelang-  
langers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the im-  
pression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Senlaka's is a definite  
liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and mar-<sup>584</sup>  
riage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies re-  
port that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that to-  
kens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls  
who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of  
friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to  
the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding<sup>[585]</sup>  
partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving  
sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the  
partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of  
one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in  
speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of  
women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convinc-  
ing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the  
flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in  
part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals.  
The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not  
even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is<sup>584</sup>  
the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character<sup>593</sup>  
trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on<sup>571</sup>  
late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang  
life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and  
little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying<sup>193</sup>  
that they never occur. There are several couples who have established<sup>593</sup>  
what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

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593 ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to be modal.

583 One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Arimelang is  
833 that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Maklaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men [556  
634] when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

582 On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is [581  
834] considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.\* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of [582] sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

581 The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Arimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair [582] and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

\* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-mayoa*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*mayoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact.

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607 nirely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a  
562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

593 The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by  
562 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A  
determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her alle-  
giance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolangk-  
lieta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his  
brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the  
support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The  
husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent  
562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less  
fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give free-  
dom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilder-  
ment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates  
very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys,  
we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than  
men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test  
data substantiate this reasoning.

## CONCLUSIONS

892 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for  
562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles-  
155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their  
experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to rein-  
force the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in con-  
nection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for  
[58] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in  
children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women  
have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive train-  
ing in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines  
has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their socio-  
logic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects  
of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far  
562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant  
them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it  
places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For  
women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded  
socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsi-  
bilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not  
overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthu-  
mous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to

[57] of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental imago, the to-nicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into pa-rental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

562 One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine  
154 ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

[832] The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is  
155 accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give  
[57] children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

932 Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spin-sterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compen-sations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the with-drawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his in-fidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrange-ment in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

593 It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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x 159 asked me to stay with him. So I went to Padakalieta's house and ran er-  
 [752] rands for him. In the spring of that year a rat bone lodged in my throat. Alomale and Padakalieta put their hands in my throat and pulled it out. I stayed a year with Padakalieta and then went back to Rustaug.

[Question.] My mother and father lived in Old Karieta during the time I stayed in Dikimpe. [Old Karieta was about forty-five minutes to an hour from Dikimpe.]

My father built four houses: one in Dikimpe, one in Karieta, one in Rustaug, and one in Kafukhieni, where our garden was. When we were living in Karieta my father said, "Here we are not happy. Let us go to Kafukhieni to make a house and raise chickens and pigs, plant bananas and tubers, and grow things." [Why not happy?] It was all right in Karieta, only it was far from our garden. We were already tired by the time we got to the garden to begin work. So we went there to live; we made a house and raised many pigs and chickens. We lived there until I married. After that my wife and I returned to the village.

My father raised a male pig there with tusks this big. My father sold it to a man from Kelaisi for two Maningmauks [10 rupiahs each] and a pig worth two and a half rupiahs. Father gave me one of these Maningmauks [see preceding day's story]. That was what I used to pay Alomale when I kalukek with him. The pig I got from Alomale I cared for until it was big and then sold it for a Hawataka [10-rupiah moko]. But to the pig I had to add another pig worth two and a half rupiahs and ten baskets of rice. Padalang bought that pig. When I wanted to sell it, Malelaka didn't want me to give it to Padalang. He said it was his pig. I was angry and drew my bow to shoot him, saying, "You have said that I copulated with a dog." As I drew my bow, Malelaka said, "Just take the pig." [Informant laughed heartily at this.] Padalang wanted one more basket of rice, so I went to a man near by who had a daughter. I was collecting a bride-price for her. He gave me a basket of rice. That evening after selling the pig I got out my Kolmale [see preceding day's story] and the Hawataka, and I beat my two mokus. [He smiled at his youthful pride in these two mokus.]

x 159 My grandmother, Fuimau, had been shot by people from Kewai, and  
 628 so the Five Villages went to war with Kewai. A man from Alurkowati  
 581 killed a man from Kewai and sold the head to my father. My father paid eighty gongs and mokus for the head. Twenty went to the first killer [namu fing] and twenty to the second. [Here there was a confused war narrative, which is irrelevant.] Then father and the first killer, with the people of Dikimpe and Karieta, went to Lawatika and

*Mangma the Genealogist*

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kalukek. The people of Lawatika didn't pay. So Dikimpe and Karieta were angry and said they would complain to the government. Then Lawatika said, "We have young girls and you have young men who want wives. You pay the bride-prices for our girls and we shall be able to pay your kalukek." My father told me to ask some Lawatika girl if she wanted to marry me. He said I must not marry someone who didn't want to marry me. So I asked a girl and she was willing. Then my father said, "My son has two mokos." So the parents of the girl sent her to Kafukhieni [informant's residence] carrying a pig. In six days I beat my two mokos and gave them to the girl's father and mother. Then my father went to Lawatika and asked for the return of two mokos to pay the kalukek. But I said, "No, keep the Kolmale moko and give the Hawataka moko back." So they gave back the Hawataka and two broken gongs. Two Kolmale were still due on the kalukek, one to Maima and one to Mauglan.

[What of the other woman, whose father had given a basket of rice?] Oh, I hadn't yet spoken to her. My wife's father gave me one Piki moko and two broken gongs as a dowry. I paid a Maningmauk moko as my bride-price. Senmani gave me a Tamamia moko as a dowry; I returned a Maningmauk. Lanmani gave me a two-and-a-half-rupiah pig as a dowry; I gave him the Tamamia. Maima gave me a broken gong worth three rupiahs as a dowry; I gave him a piece of a Fehawa worth six rupiahs. Atama gave me five small corn bundles, a basket of beans, and a small goat as a dowry; I gave him a Maningmauk. This was the third Maningmauk I had paid in my bride-price. [I tried without success to divert him from the discussion of mokos and bride-prices. He was obviously thoroughly enjoying the account.] Lanmani gave me a small pig as a dowry; I gave a Tawantama as a bride-price. Senfani gave a Tamamia pig, and I returned a Maningmauk. [This is probably the transaction attributed above to Senmani. Note the inconsistency in an apparently meticulous account.]

[Unable to stop this flow of reckoning, I called the allotted hour to an end. Mangma smiled and said that he had reckoned his bride-price and that he also planned to tell about his familiar spirits. He was obviously very pleased with the morning's account.]

November 28, 1938

When I was young I blackened my teeth. They were blackening teeth in three localities that year. My place was near Ruataug, where there were twelve boys and girls. At Manitul there were thirty. Manitul

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\* [59] ones may eat food. Why do you act like this?" Malchaka cried and his tears fell on mother's hands. Mother was sorry for him and gave him the corn. Malchaka came back and wanted to take his pig too, but father said he had better leave it, because in Karieta, where he was going, it would get into people's gardens and they would shoot it. So Malchaka left with his chickens and went to Karieta. Later he sent his wife for his corn.

Once Lanmau [his younger brother] and I fought over an arrow. One of mine disappeared. I accused Lanmau. He had shot birds and lost it. I told him not to deny losing it because Manimale had seen him go off with it. He denied that he had taken it and told me to die [very insulting]. Then I took a sword and bow and we fought. My bow struck his eye and wounded him. My uncle Fannale was in the next house and he told of Lanmau's cursing me. I was angry and said if anyone came in the house I would shoot him. No one dared come near the house, not even the older men. After I had wounded Lanmau, I was afraid and ran off to sleep in the fields. I went to stay with Atafani. I was about twelve or thirteen at that time. Atafani told me he had many such arrows, and since I had wounded Lanmau we had better not quarrel any more. He gave me an arrow and in three days I went home.

[What of his sister?] Once I weeded a field. A Makangfokung woman came to Melangkai [Mangma's father's cousin] and asked who had cleared her field. When she heard who it was she said I had better marry her, but Melangkai said, "Maybe you can marry him, but he is still small and your breasts are already swelling." Then Melangkai told me about this and I said, "I am only small and remember [i.e., think of] only food, not women." This woman saw that I had weeded where she had not. She thought I was industrious and that she had better marry me.

[I asked him again for stories of his biologic sisters.] When I was [35] small I didn't play with my sisters; I didn't work in the fields with them. I played only with boys. Melangkai and Lonkari came to tell me

● [58] of many women who wanted me because I worked fast in the garden and was industrious. These women thought, "We would only have to cook in his wake; he could do all the garden work himself." [He continues to repeat general statements of how women wanted to marry him.]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

In studying this autobiographical account of Mangma two factors must be taken into account: first, his reaction to the ethnographer, and

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x 159 rather than to emulate it. His father is always mentioned as the curer of his ills. If he got into trouble his father got him out. However, his father did not condone Rilpada's lack of skill; the boy got many scoldings and on one occasion a castration threat, not for a sexual misdemeanor, but for lack of skill in rat hunting.

Rilpada's relations to his mother are less distinct. He slept with her until he was six or seven. He often disobeyed her, and once shot a bird arrow at her and injured her. This was the occasion of his running away, but his father coaxed him back after two months' absence, and he found both parents forgiving and understanding. He once attacked his father when his sympathies were aroused by unjust treatment of his mother.

His father died when Rilpada was about twenty-seven, and only on this single occasion does Rilpada present himself as an important person.

The account of his attitude toward his brothers is devoid of details, but in the few episodes he does narrate, hostility is obvious. He does not mention his two older brothers until he is asked about them. He refused to take care of the younger brother, but he does tell of one episode in which he was getting the worst of a fight when his younger brother, six years his junior, came to his aid. He likewise neglects his younger sister. On one occasion when the younger sister was creating a great to-do by refusing to marry the man to whom she was contracted, Rilpada (age thirty) attempted the role of paterfamilias but failed badly. He was totally ineffectual.

His relations with women are likewise bad. In fact, they hardly count at all. Four times he mentions playing with girls, and in connection with three of them he recounts some untoward incident. He enters into relationship with a girl for the first time at seventeen. He offers to build her a house and she proposes to him. He accepts and steals a moko from his father. His father detects the theft but nevertheless offers to help Rilpada collect his bride-price.\* But he loses the girl anyhow to another suitor. He denies having had intercourse with her, and we can well believe him.

His next relationship is one in which he and a girl exchange areca. She sends a go-between and again he is willing. His father helps him with bride-price arrangements. Five days later the girl comes to sleep with him. He is away on an errand and when he returns he finds her in his

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582 \* In several of the biographies very inhibited men make an early effort to get a bride-price as if in preparation for marriage. These efforts usually occur immediately after adolescence and represent impatience to acquire status rather than a need for a sexual mate. Several of these precocious efforts are followed by a long history of troubled relations with women owing largely to deep anxiety provoked by them.

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<sup>x</sup>159 place. Mother saw that I had cut some and others I had left, so she  
868 didn't want me to work. Then I watched mother and saw that she cut  
right down into the roots. The second day when I tried, I cleaned the  
spot and cut two large heaps of weeds. The next time I cut three or  
four heaps of weeds. Then mother said that by and by I would be  
clever. Finally mother divided the field between us, and we could each  
cut a part.

<sup>x</sup>159 When I knew a bit how to cut weeds, Kolang, Kolata's mother, said,  
"You two can both cut fields now, so you two work alternately in each  
other's gardens." Then Kolata took pots, plates, and food and we went  
to her garden. She said I was to cut weeds and she would cook for me.  
So I worked, and at midday she called me to eat. Then we went to  
play swing. When we saw the sun going down we worked a little more  
and in the evening went back to our houses. The next day I took pots,  
plates, and food and cooked while Kolata worked in my garden. At  
midday I called her to eat. Then we swung, and when the sun was go-  
ing down we worked a bit more in the field and then went home in the  
evening.

[Was Kolata the same age?] Yes. Her mother gave birth to her three  
days after my mother bore me. [I asked which of the two friends mar-  
ried first.] I did. [Whom did Kolata marry?] First Padakafeli gave the  
chief of Atimelang [her brother] a Maningmauk moko for her, but  
Kolata said she would not marry him, and they did not sleep together.  
Then she married Padalang. When Padalang wanted to sleep with her,  
she didn't want to. One day Padalang went off and he saw an evil spirit  
that looked like Kolata. She [the evil spirit] called to him to cut wood  
and tie it up for her to carry home. Then Padalang went up the hill and  
slept with this woman. After he had had intercourse, he cut and tied  
the wood. He called for her to come and carry it, but the woman had  
disappeared. That evening when he came home he had a headache. In  
the night he couldn't talk any more, and just before dawn he died. So  
his moko was given back. After that Padamai married Kolata. Kolata  
said, "My two older brothers [the chief of Atimelang and Atamai] are  
● [58] always fighting with my mother, so I want to marry a man who is an  
orphan, who will come home and live with me and my mother and be  
a son to her." So she married Padamai, who was an orphan. He went to  
her mother, built a house, and lived there.

[How did Kolata die?] She and Padamai went to Yefala near Lawa-  
rika to make a garden. They built a nice large field house there. One  
day Kolata was working in the garden when a kalatup bird came and

*Kolmani the Seeress*

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[Here she stopped, feeling she had summarized her life. Either she or the interpreter spoke of dreams. I was not quite sure what happened here. I said that dreams, her seer experiences, and the like might be told. She started with her supernatural experiences, but the interpreter again interfered and asked for the preceding night's dreams.] 159x

Last night I dreamed that Fantan the Interpreter came three times to call me. Then the nonya came, and I gave her young areca nuts. She put two cents in my hand.

One night I slept in a house and many night birds came into the house, very many of them. They were all making a noise. People said, "This surely means something." That day I had helped to feed the familiar spirits of my forebears. I had no familiars of my own, but at that time some rose in me. There was a person sick in Kaburwa, and people called me because they heard I had become a seer. I sat with the sick person until he was well. After he was well, I returned here. I was raising a pig, which was already half grown. It disappeared. I took bamboo leaves and swept the pig's sleeping place with them. As the sun rose I held up the leaves and looked. I saw two spirits standing in them; one was Fanpeni and one was Padamani. Fanpeni was the familiar of Maleta's father, and Padamani was mine. These two had stolen my pig. Then my female spirit, Lomani, rose in me. I grasped a sword and ran to Watahieng. There was my pig. Fanpeni and Padamani had it. I took it and brought it back to the house at Atibai-manek. 756 787

In the morning I went with fire to watch my field all day. Letlaka came and asked me for areca. I already knew that Letlaka had a reputation for sleeping with women, so I didn't give him any. Then Letlaka came back one day and said, "If you don't want me, whom do you want to marry?" I said, "Oh, I am just a young child. I know only garden work and getting food." 159x

Then my uncle said, "If you wish, we can get Kupaifani's Hawataka moko to pay Padaleti, who is dunning me." [That is, he wished to marry off his niece so that he could meet his debts with her bride-price.] I deceived him, saying, "Oh, good. Get his moko to pay the debt [meaning that she was willing to marry Kupaifani]." After that Kupaifani came to me all the time. So I said to him, "Oh, we two are siblings. We can't marry. You are my true brother because our parents were also siblings. Later you can give a dowry on me and get some of my bride-price to pay back this Hawataka moko. I shall marry another [58] ●

\* For more about Kolmani's supernatural experiences, see page 539.